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# THE DIAL

A SEMI-MONTHLY JOURNAL OF  
Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information.

EDITED BY  
FRANCIS F. BROWNE. { Volume XX.  
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## THE DIAL'S SCORE OF VOLUMES.

If volumes meant years, THE DIAL would just now be entering upon the year of its majority. The present issue completes the twentieth volume of the review, and carries it well into the seventeenth year of its existence. This discrepancy between years and volumes results, of course, from the fact that THE DIAL began as a monthly, and became afterwards a semi-monthly. The first stage of its career extended from 1880 to 1892; the second stage has now covered four years. Since each of its score of volumes includes twelve parts, this issue of June 16, 1896, is reckoned as the two hundred and fortieth, while the aggregate number of pages is about seven thousand.

Throughout all this period THE DIAL has remained under the same editorial management. During the first twelve years it bore the imprint of a well-known firm of book-publishers; since then it has been issued by The Dial Company, incorporated in 1892 under the laws of Illinois. This transfer of publication meant, as our older readers are well aware, no essential changes in the character of the paper except those naturally resulting from enlarged opportunities and resources. Beginning with September 1, 1892, THE DIAL became a semi-monthly, and added several new features, the most noteworthy of them being the leading editorial articles that have since appeared with every issue. It was felt by the editors that a critical journal devoted to the interests of literature should have, no less than the political or religious publication, a standpoint of its own, and that the general field of literary discussion offered, no less than any other, opportunities for the enunciation and defense of important principles in criticism, education, and public affairs.

The editorial feature thus established was a new departure in critical periodicals of the class to which THE DIAL belongs, and abundant evidence of its acceptability has been afforded by private communications and public comment upon our leaders of the past four years. The scope of this publication, broadly conceived, embraces many subjects besides those of strictly literary concern. Education, library management, important art movements,

the relations of scholarship to public affairs, the questions of copyright and the taxation of knowledge, and all other matters affecting the higher interests of culture, rightfully belong, and have upon appropriate occasions been brought, within its purview. Upon all of these subjects, and many others as well, we have sought to give expression to the sober intelligence of the nation, and to voice the lasting sentiments of the judicious rather than to echo the cry of the masses for the moment. Indeed, the leading editorials of THE DIAL, considered as a whole, may be taken as our confession of faith in questions of culture, as an index of those principles and ideals for which the review stands and may be expected to stand.

In the performance of its function as a review of current publications, THE DIAL has sought to secure in all departments criticism that is both competent and readable, that is uninfluenced by prejudice, that is not weakened by the aimless sort of impressionism which so often usurps the name of criticism, that directs attention to the book under discussion rather than to the writer of the notice, and that tries to be as generous and appreciative as possible without allowing inaccuracy, sciolism, and slovenliness to go uncensured. The list of special authorities who have contributed reviews to our columns is a very long and distinguished one, and includes the names of many scholars who stand foremost in their respective departments of learning. It may be worth while to say, in this connection, that the unsigned reviews, or "Briefs," although editorial in "style," are prepared by a great number of hands, and are assigned with no less care than is exercised in the case of the longer articles. This method of securing reviews, of course, makes it impossible for us to notice books without some delay, for promptitude is to be had only at the sacrifice of deliberate and authoritative judgment, and we are content to leave to the daily newspapers the foolish ambition to rival one another in the speed with which they herald the advent of the new books, and the facility with which they produce opinions that may be read to-day but will surely be forgotten to-morrow.

It has often been assumed, by persons unfamiliar with the work of THE DIAL, that it must give undue attention to the intellectual interests of the region in which it is produced. We need hardly say to any of our readers that this assumption is quite unwarranted, or that our field is as wide as the country itself. Although it is published in what New Englanders

call the West, and in what publishers know as the great book-consuming centre of the Republic, its constituency is as much Eastern as Western, and its subscribers are pretty evenly distributed over all the States and Territories. Indeed, the charge has come more than once from Western literary coteries that THE DIAL ignores the literary product of the section in which its home has been made, and recognizes only work that has won the approval of the older centres of culture. This foolish accusation is best offset by the equally foolish one, now and then made in New York or Boston, that THE DIAL is the "literary champion of the West," and is jealous of the preëminence of Eastern men of letters. The simple truth of the matter is that we have never had, and never shall have, but one standard of judgment, the standard by which all work, good or bad, should be measured; and that a book's place of origin never counts for a feather's weight in THE DIAL's scale of criticism.

We may perhaps be pardoned the confession of a little pride in contemplation of the twenty completed volumes of THE DIAL, and in recollection of the difficulties that have beset the enterprise during the sixteen years of its history. It was no easy matter to win for a paper of purely intellectual appeal the support and the position that have been won for THE DIAL during these sixteen years, or to resist the temptation to bid for popularity at the sacrifice, in some measure, of the high ideals set for the journal at the start. As a record of American literary activity during nearly two decades of the century, our score of volumes are, we believe, unsurpassed in value, and we take particular satisfaction in the thought that, preserved for reference as they are in most of the large public libraries, and fully catalogued in such works as Poole's "Index," they will prove useful to the future student of American literature, as they have been helpful to readers of their own time seeking guidance in current literature and in the selection of books to add to the library.

#### SHAKESPEARE IN CHICAGO.

Whatever our opinion as to the modern decadence of the stage, we must admit that in the department of Shakespearian drama Chicagoans have never enjoyed a more extended or more varied season than that of 1895-96.

Between the months of September and June the city has been visited by Mr. Frederick Warde, Mr.

Louis James, Sir Henry Irving, and Mr. Thomas Keene, veterans the quality of whose art is familiar to all; Miss Ada Rehan and Mrs. Julia Marlowe-Taber have appeared in Shakespearian roles, the former lady having practically opened the season with a three-weeks engagement in September and now closing it with a visit of a fortnight in June; Mr. Walker Whiteside, Mr. Otis Skinner, and Mr. Robert Mantell have maintained their places as honest exponents of the classic drama, while Mr. Creston Clarke and the younger Salvini have made courageous and not uninteresting essays in the same ambitious field, however rash and ill-judged their attempts may have seemed to be. Thus, eleven players of excellent repute have during the year submitted their interpretations of Shakespeare, conventional or new, to more or less critical audiences in Chicago. It may be added that notwithstanding the abnormal patronage accorded by large — and perhaps not less critical — audiences to vaudeville and the "continuous show" with which Chicago has been afflicted no more than other American cities, these important engagements, with hardly an exception, proved financially successful.

The following tabulated statement of plays produced, the number of performances, the actors and their dates, will be found of interest. It is understood that many other standard plays of the old "legitimate" stock were likewise seen during the period covered by these engagements. "Virginius," "Richelieu," "The Fool's Revenge," "School for Scandal," along with the more modern melodramas in the repertoire of Messrs. Irving, Salvini, and Mantell, filled in the intervals between the dates; but the Shakespearian productions only are considered notable.

<i>Plays.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Players.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
1 As You Like It.	2	Ada Rehan. Marlowe-Taber.	Oct. 3. Oct. 11.
2 Twelfth Night.	2	Ada Rehan. Marlowe-Taber.	June 18. Oct. 12.
3 Julius Caesar.	2	Frederick Wards.	Dec. 20, Jan. 4.
4 King Henry IV.	3	Marlowe-Taber.	Oct. 7, 8, 9.
5 Two Gentlemen of Verona.	4	Ada Rehan.	Sept. 25, 26, 27, 28.
6 Romeo and Juliet.	4	Marlowe-Taber. Louis James.	Oct. 10, 12. Apr. 3, 4.
7 Macbeth.	6	Henry Irving. Louis James.	Mar. 10, 11, 12. Mar. 29, 30.
8 Midsummer Night's Dream.	5	Ada Rehan.	Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 2 (2)
9 Richard III.	7	Creston Clarke. Thomas Keene. Ada Rehan.	June 19. Feb. 9, 10, 13. Apr. 27, 29, 30, May 2
10 Taming of the Shrew	10	Walker Whiteside. Otis Skinner. Robert Mantell.	Oct. 4, 5, (2), June 16, 17, 20 (2). Jan. 26. Feb. 1, 2. Mar. 28, April 21.
11 Othello.	8	Louis James. Thomas Keene. Salvini. Walker Whiteside. Otis Skinner.	Apr. 2. Apr. 20, 25. Apr. 27, 28, 30. Jan. 29. Feb. 1, 2.
12 Merchant of Venice.	11	Creston Clarke. Henry Irving. Thomas Keene. Walker Whiteside. Otis Skinner.	Feb. 8. Mar. 5, 6, 7, 18, 21. Apr. 24, 25. Jan. 27, 28, 29, 31, Feb. 1 (2).
13 Hamlet.	26	Creston Clarke. Robert Mantell. Louis James. Thomas Keene. Salvini.	Jan. 28, 30, Feb. 5. Feb. 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12 (2), 14, 15 (2). Mar. 26. Apr. 1, 4. Apr. 28, May 1. Apr. 20, 24.

That is to say: thirteen of the best of Shake-

speare's plays have been set upon our boards, and the number of performances gives an aggregate of ninety. We have had two Richards, two Macbeths, two Rosalinds. Three companies have appeared in one form or another of "The Taming of the Shrew"; two companies in "Romeo and Juliet." There have been seen three Othellos, five Shylocks, and seven Hamlets. From September 25 to October 12, Shakespeare was played continuously for three weeks in Chicago, Miss Rehan and Mrs. Taber appearing for two weeks of the three, simultaneously at different houses. Beginning again on January 27 there were performances continuing three weeks to February 15. Mr. Walker Whiteside, Mr. Otis Skinner, and Mr. Creston Clarke were all playing in the city at this time. During these three weeks, "Hamlet" was given fourteen times, and twice the theatre-goer had his choice of two interpretations. In March there were thirteen performances of Shakespeare; and in April, sixteen. There was at least one performance in each month of the season except November. We rather doubt if any other city outside of Germany can make as remarkable a showing as this.

Of the varying values of these engagements it is not necessary to speak; comparison with the past would also be gratuitous. The mere fact that the record stands as it does is a direct encouragement to those who love the true art of the stage in its most admirable expression; it also supplies the strongest possible argument for disproving the complete degeneracy of our stage and the assumed general decadence of theatrical taste at the present time.

W. E. SIMONDS.

#### COMMUNICATIONS.

##### THE PARENTHETICAL 'SIC' IN CRITICISM.

(To the Editor of THE DIAL.)

In a communication in your issue of May 16, Mr. F. H. Teall indulges in a form of criticism, as annoying as it is uncalled for, which may be styled the parenthetical *sic*; and as the subject of the criticism is taken from an article by me, I crave the indulgence of a little space in which to enter protest. It is bad enough for the reviewer of a book to avail himself of this form of criticism; for anyone else to use it is impertinent,—using the word, of course, in its literal sense.

As regards the special points to which Mr. Teall takes exception, the first, the phrase "little far from criminal," might perhaps be improved, though I should hesitate to entrust the improving to a writer who uses so dreadful a phrase as "to exploit"; the second is a case of incomplete ellipsis; the third (which my critic introduces with that objectionable French phrase, *en passant*) is hardly met by using "the initiatory word notwithstanding,"—whatever an "initiatory word" may be. As to the "inference naturally drawn from this criticism"—namely, that Mr. White asserts that little annotation is necessary," I can only say that my statement was based wholly on Mr. White's practice, not at all on his theory.

While I agree with Mr. Teall that the dictionaries

often set up a man of straw, I beg leave to differ with him about the meaning of *admittance* in "The Merry Wives." Elsewhere in Shakespeare this word is undoubtedly used in its modern sense, but both here and in a later scene in the same play it certainly has the force of fashion or good form,—as we should say now, that which admits one to good society.

In conclusion I would mildly protest against the too frequent carelessness of writers in the matter of references, of which Mr. Teall's article furnishes a fair example. Of the five quotations from Shakespeare occurring there, two, or forty per cent, are incorrectly given,—the passage from "Cymbeline" being from the third instead of the fourth scene of the first act, and the same being true of the extract from "Measure for Measure." The "p'rythee" in the latter the writer is perhaps not responsible for, though the apostrophe is of course not necessary. No more valuable advice was ever given to a literary young man than that of Dr. Routh: "Always verify your citations."

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

*Champaign, Ill., June 2, 1896.*

#### THE PASSIVE VOICE WITH AN OBJECT.

(To the Editor of THE DIAL.)

Mr. Caskie Harrison did well to call attention, in your journal lately, to the fact that such sentences as "he was asked a question" are warranted by good English usage for centuries back. As those who object to this construction, however, generally treat it as an absurdity from the logical standpoint, Mr. Harrison might have gone further and shown the inherent weakness of their logic.

The difficulty with such critics is that they have not gone far enough in their linguistic investigations to discover that a verb may be passive with reference to one person or thing without sustaining the same relation to every other person or thing with which the sentence may bring it into contact. When, from the active standpoint, we think of an officer giving a soldier his discharge, our conception is of an action affecting both the soldier and the discharge,—the latter the *mere* directly of the two. Now we change the point of view, and think of the soldier as the subject, saying that the soldier was given his discharge. Custom has decreed that the voice-form of the verb shall be governed by the subject, and so our critic raises his hands in holy horror at the outrageous anomaly of a passive verb with an object. The only anomaly is that in this age it should escape the notice of any fairly educated person that the relation of the verb has been changed with reference to but one of the two things (or persons) involved. To go back to the illustration, the *discharge* is evidently as much the object of the action as before, and rightly remains unchanged.

In explaining this to a class, I should not say that when the voice of the verb is changed to the passive the accusative in question is retained; this leads to the false idea that such a construction presupposes, in actual usage, the corresponding active locution. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, neither speaker nor hearer gives the slightest trace of thought to the active form. However secondary the construction may be in its origin, it stands now upon its own basis in actual usage. The pupil should be told boldly that the accusative is the object of the verb; and after he has come to apprehend the fact by a common-sense examination of the meaning of the sentence, he may then be given an account of the

active form into which the thought may be thrown. At the same time, it is well that his attention should be called to the futile efforts of the class of critics by whom we are denied the right to this logical and well-accredited form of speech.

By the way, have these critics realized that such sentences as "He has been told to go," "I was taught to sing," etc., are logically in the same category as the expressions which they condemn? Or is it one thing to be taught *language* and quite another thing to be taught to understand language? In one sense, at least, it certainly is; and with this suggestion as to the origin of the criticisms which called forth Mr. Harrison's letter, I must close.

W. H. J.

*Granville, Ohio, June 5, 1896.*

#### GERMAN PHILOLOGY IN SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM.

(To the Editor of THE DIAL.)

It is surprising to find in an article under such a heading as "Shakespeare in Lexicography" (THE DIAL, May 16) no mention whatever of the most important of all dictionaries to the special student of the great dramatist, the "Shakespeare-Lexicon" of Alexander Schmidt, published twenty years ago in Koenigsburg, Germany. A knowledge of that work would have prepared Mr. Teall for a more intelligent discussion of the vocabulary of Shakespeare. Schmidt has, no doubt, erred at times in the creation of too many Shakespearian meanings of the same word. He realized but imperfectly distinctions in the force of certain words in Elizabethan and nineteenth-century English. But to a German giving English definitions to English words, more than this may cheerfully be pardoned for the sake of the valuable material he has so arranged that one may, in many cases, let one's own discretion be one's tutor, spare a great deal of sheer memorization, and avoid threshing general dictionaries that distinguish but scappily between the English of our age and that of Shakespeare.

Let us consult Schmidt concerning two of the passages quoted by Mr. Teall. In "The Merry Wives of Windsor" (Act II., scene 2), Ford commands Falstaff as a gentleman "of great admittance." Schmidt defines "admittance" as "permission to enter, reception." Passages cited include "What admittance?" ("Love's Labour's Lost," II., 1) explained as "What reception did you meet with?" and the peculiar expression "Any tire of Venetian admittance" ("Merry Wives," III., 3), explained as "received, in fashion at Venice," and "of great admittance" (in the passage under discussion), explained as "admitted to the company and converse of great persons." That the last explanation is correct, is plainly shown by the context. That it differs for the better from Mr. Teall's "commanding much admittance," is equally clear. A more concise explanation than Schmidt's would have been "of admittance to the great." This would have shown that *admittance* has, as Mr. Teall says, its present meaning, "permission to enter," and that "the part of the sentence that needs explanation is the two words of *great*," words which Mr. Teall has not explained correctly.

Turning to the word *divorce*, I find in Schmidt three definitions: (1) "Legal dissolution of the bonds of matrimony," (2) "Any separation of love," and (3) "That which separates." Of the last (given also by the International Dictionary), Mr. Teall says: "The word was never used and never could be used in this sense."

How about Timon's apostrophe to the exhumed gold ("Timon of Athens," IV., 3)?

"O thou sweet king-killer, and dear divorce  
Twixt natural son and sire!"

So extraordinary is Mr. Teall's denial of the possibility of *divorce* meaning "that which separates," that we may expatiate a little. In the appendix to Schmidt's Lexicon (p. 1421) is the following remark: "The kind of metonymy called *Abstractum pro Concreto* is common to all languages, and scarcely to be numbered among the peculiarities of poetical license, but no poet has been nearly so bold in it as Shakespeare." The subjoined passages are instructive. Abstract nouns are still used in calling names. We do not wonder at finding Thersites calling to Ajax, "Do rudeness, do camel." A remarkable instance of the same thing is Juliet's calling the Nurse "Ancient damnation!" Expressions like "Farewell, fair cruelty!" and "Get thee to yond same sovereign cruelty!" were perhaps of influence on Sir Pierce Shafton, whose "My most dear Discretion!" and "Ha, my Rusticity!" far enough removed from genuine euphemism, are a better reproduction of the foppish Elizabethan than has always been admitted.

Schmidt gives passages illustrating the metonymy in profusion. I should like to call attention to two beautiful passages in which I think "death" is used for "the dead." They illustrate how fine and poetical this use of language may be when it arises from the unconscious instincts of inspiration. The first is from "Comus" (560-562):

"I was all ear,  
And took in strains that might create a soul  
Under the ribs of death."

The other is from "Othello" (Act II., scene 1):

"O my soul's joy!  
If after every tempest come such calms  
May the winds blow till they have waken'd death!"

It is not impossible to take these as personifications, but until I meet with some representation of Death as a sleeper I shall prefer my own interpretation, of the latter passage at least.

I have already exceeded my limits, but may be permitted to add that Schmidt's discussion of adjectives in the Appendix (pp. 1415 *et seq.*) makes clear many such usages as "of great admittance" and "the long divorce of steel." The latter means "the axe that causes long divorce."

HENRY B. HINCKLEY.

Lake Forest University, June 1, 1896.

THE seventh volume of "Germania" is completed with the April issue, and a glance over the year's numbers deepens our impression of the usefulness of the periodical to students of the German language. Each number contains a selection of good classical reading-matter, carefully annotated, together with simpler reading for those less advanced, and all sorts of syntactical and linguistic helps for the beginner. The editor, Mr. A. W. Spanhoofd, shows a keen appreciation of the needs of the student, and deserves to have a large following. Encouraged by the success of the periodical, the publishers have undertaken a similar work for French, and we have just received the first issue of "L'Etudiant," edited in similar fashion by Dr. Alfred Hennequin. Both magazines appear under the auspices of the New England College of Languages, with headquarters at Boston.

## The New Books.

### THE MAID OF ORLEANS.\*

The story is told of the English painter Watts, that he replied to a question in regard to the figure of the youth trampled under foot in his "Mammon"—"Why did I paint the youth naked?" Because he is a type of humanity; if he had been clothed, and therefore particularized, he would have ceased to be a type." Much the same sort of observation might be made of the "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc." The figure of Jeanne Darc † is so clear and distinct, so refined, her life was so romantic and yet vouches for as few lives have been (hers is the only record of a human life the circumstances of which have come to us under oath), that it seems a work of supererogation to seek to clothe her with the drapery of romance. Since Mr. Clemens has succeeded in so cleverly weaving the data of history into the narrative he has written, why did he not devote himself from the first to writing the life of his heroine? The romantic element in the life of the Maid cannot possibly be heightened by its use in fiction, nor can it be reduced by the strictest adherence to history, for in her life history and romance well-nigh coincide. This, Mr. Lowell has realized; and, as a consequence, from either point of view he has produced the preferable work of the two.

But what that is new can be said of Jeanne Darc? Nothing. Yet while men love that which

\* PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF JOAN OF ARC. By the Sieur Louis de Conte (her Page and Secretary); translated by Jean François Alden. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

JOAN OF ARC. By Francis C. Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

JEANNE D'ARC, HER LIFE AND DEATH. By Mrs. Oliphant, author of "Makers of Florence," etc. (Heroes of the Nations Series.) Illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† I cannot reconcile myself to Mr. Lowell's usage—Joan of Arc; nor again to the form Jeanne d'Arc. As to the first, a name is too personal a thing to be denationalized, especially in the case of so national a character as Jeanne Darc. Michelet conjectures that she may have been christened with the double form—Jeanne Jean, according to the French mode of giving female names to boys, and vice versa. That observation, however, would in no way affect the fact of the name Jeanne. In regard to the surname, whether it be d'Arc or Darc, I prefer the latter. Even if the name were derived from an ancestral village of Arc (d'Arc), the appellation would tend to have the force of a distinct surname, as in the case of Jeanne's mother, Isabeau Romée, the form Romée having been derived from the circumstance that an early member of the family had been distinguished by a pilgrimage to Rome. So in the case of Jeanne Darc. This opinion is in deference to the authority of M. Valet de Viriville—"Nouvelles recherches sur la famille de Jeanne Darc," Paris, 1854. A portrait of the Maid by an unknown painter, in the Hôtel de Ville at Rouen, has the form "Jeanne Darc."

is true and beautiful, she will continue to be the world's fresh ornament, the largess of whose soul made France and the world the richer for her having lived in it.

Jeanne Darc was born January 6, 1412, at Domrémy near Vaucouleurs. Her father, Jacques, was a native of Ceffonds in Champagne; her mother, Isabeau Romée, came from Vouthon in the duchy of Bar. Jeanne was thus Champenoise through her father and Barrois through her mother. As to Domrémy, it was divided by the little brook of Trois-Fontaines, an affluent of the Meuse. The northern part of the village was a dependency of the Lorraine chatellany of Vaucouleurs; the southern part, in which Jeanne was born, belonged to the lordship of Gondrecourt, which had held of the crown since 1308. Her parents were farmer folk of the better class, not rich, but possessed of flocks and herds and able to aid their poorer neighbors. Jacques Darc enjoyed a certain distinction in the village. Jeanne was the youngest of five children, three of whom were boys. The village was Armagnac in politics, and the Armagnac party represented the national cause. By 1428 the English had penetrated into Champagne; Domrémy suffered from their incursion at that time. France was prostrate before the invader. Her people, not yet a nation because not yet out of the toils of feudal provincialism, for three generations had seen the lilies of France crushed into the dust by the foe, and so long as the alliance between Burgundy and England lasted the conquest would continue.

But there was promise of morrow even in midnight. The Armagnac party, the dominant influence at court, was gradually growing to be the national party, not for any virtue of its own, but because of enmity to that of Burgundy. Even negative patriotism was better than no national sense. Fortunate was it for France that the king was in their hands, for the king, were he never so weak, still represented in his own person and privileged blood the idea, as yet unapprehended, of a native country. He reigned by grace of God, by divine right; loyalty to the king was therefore a Christian duty. But loyalty implied patriotism, and this is the meaning of the Coming of Jeanne Darc: she was the incarnation of French national sentiment. Mr. Lowell has grasped this fact excellently well. (Pp. 26, 45, 59, 69, 75.)

The dominion of the French king in 1429 embraced only Languedoc, Dauphiny, and the Lyonnais. Normandy, Guyenne, and Gascony

were in English hands; Artois, Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne, through Burgundy, were at the disposal of the enemy; while, to crown the French humiliation, Paris itself, with the immense moral influence implied in its possession, was lost to Charles VII. It remained for the English to force the barrier of the Loire at Orleans, and end the struggle. This was the moment chosen for the appearance of the Maid. Chosen? By whom? Was Jeanne Darc moved by a sublime exaltation, or is she to be regarded as an interesting pathological study merely? Mr. Lowell has wrought at the problem of her character, but guards himself from predetermining the reader. As for the Sieur Louis de Conte, he believes that the influence in her soul was of God.

Consider: the fifteenth century was a period of transition, when the old things that had obtained for centuries were passing away. It was an epoch of spiritual, intellectual, economic, and institutional unrest, which already in Italy had culminated in the Renaissance, and was destined ere long to combine Renaissance and Reformation phenomena together in England, France, and Germany. This was the true preparative to the Reformation. The great reforming councils (Pisa, 1409; Constance, 1414-8; Basel, 1431), Wyclif, Huss, the Mystics, the lay and clerical societies, all showed that the Church was not supplying the religious needs of the people. Because the apparatus of the Church failed, the people sought other means. Far from being alienated, however, from the God revealed to them through the Church, they were enabled to draw closer to Him. But the Church had not altogether lost its authority, and the combined influence of this ancient authority and the new closer relation might easily have influenced a sensitive and pious soul like that of Jeanne Darc to an undue degree.

Again: what was the character of her early education? Of learning, in the sense of that term, she had none. The paternoster and a few prayers and litanies had been taught her; she could neither read nor write. Her education was that of Elijah. Behind the village of Domrémy stretched away a vast forest: might not those first temples, with their sombre aisles thridded here and there by sunbeams as through some mulioned window, the shade, the quiet, the reverence of the place, have appealed to the tender child-spirit? How did her schooling differ, save in degree, from that of the prophets of old? Might not the Voice that spake on Car-

mel, and caused the Cedars of Lebanon to bow themselves, whisper to a maiden, too, in the fastness of a forest in the West? After all, is not inspiration a question of degree? Emerson has somewhere said that a man should learn to detect and watch the gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, and that the virtue of Moses and Plato and Milton is that books and traditions were ignored by them, while what they thought, because that conviction was so intense, was the universal sense. Jeanne Darc came to France with the impassioned argument of a simple truth.

And again: consider the place where her youth was spent. Domrémy was on the high-road between Verdun and Langres, along which much of the news of war must have passed. Its frontier situation on that debatable land between the two combatants would give her unexampled opportunities. She knew the weariness and waste of war; perchance she had seen the king himself; she felt, at least, the royal humiliation, not logically, but almost out of instinct and intuition. But all is not yet explained, nor even alluded to, in her character. Whence did this child learn wisdom? As natural as the simplest creature of creation, she was still supernatural—almost superhuman—in some traits. In the field she astounded the grizzled veterans by her conduct, yet she was unerring; in the council chamber this girl of seventeen displayed a judgment superior to the King's best counsellors. In the trial at Rouen her acumen confounded the judges. When pressed to reveal what was the mysterious "sign" she gave the King, she refused. That sign was nothing less than her assurance to Charles of his legitimacy, and therefore of his legal title to the French crown,—a doubt which had never crossed the mind of anyone save the king himself, and which Jeanne discerned either by intuition or revelation. But she knew the political importance of the secret she bore, and kept it well. Such capacity was not the conduct of a precocious child; her mental structure was deeper and more massive than that. She was mature without being old; she was experienced without having been tried. Moreover, there was nothing hectic about Jeanne Darc; she was spirituelle, but never morbid. Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi starved the flesh that they might nurture the spirit; but Jeanne Darc was abounding in physical vitality. The antithesis between her and her age, striking as it is, is not more remarkable than the combination of ideal motive, nat-

uralness, and practical shrewdness in her character. "You tell us," said William Aymery, in the preliminary examination at Poitiers, "that God wishes to free the people of France from their distress. If He wishes to free them, there is no need of the soldiers you ask for." "In God's name," she rejoined, "the men-at-arms will fight, and God will give the victory." In the assault upon Jargeau, when the Duke of Alençon held back, she said to him, "Ah, gentle duke, are you afraid? Do you not know that God helps those who help themselves?"

Jeanne's keenness and wit, her sense of the ridiculous, makes her intensely human. There are numerous incidents, known to be true, which show this and serve to complicate the problem of her character. A friar who believed the English report that she was of the devil, fell to crossing himself vigorously at sight of her, at which she laughed merrily. Believing heartily in her mission as one divine, Jeanne Darc never pretended to any miraculous power. For the Church as an institution she had the deepest reverence; but the hard and worldly priest-class of the France of that day she abhorred. "My Lord has a book wherein no clerk ever read, were he never so clerky," was her comment upon their pretensions. Her winning manner and quiet dignity never failed her under the most harassing circumstances. At the close of a long day's session, when three and four inquisitors had exhausted themselves in seeking to entangle her, she could say with a smile, with upraised hand, as six several questions leaped at her from six pairs of lips at once, "My good lords, I beg you, one at a time." Her keenness at the trial foiled her adversaries time and again. Urged to give details regarding the character of the vision that pointed out the king to her at Chinon, she suggested that they might send to the king, from whom doubtless they could get answer. When asked if she knew she was in the grace of God, she replied, "May God bring me into his grace if I am not in it; if I am in it, may He keep me there." Even the examiners were filled with admiration at the answer, for the question was a dilemma: if the answer were yes, it could be construed into unholy presumption; if the answer were no, it was a confession of guilt. Her retaliation to this double-edged query came, when, in reply to the question whether St. Michael, who appeared to her, were clothed or not, she turned it by asking, "Do you not think that God, who taketh care of the lilies of the field and clotheth the fowls of the

air, has not the wherewithal to care for his saints?"

The lips of history are not dumb like the stone lips of the sphinx, but there is a riddle in the life of Jeanne Darc not yet divulged; the facts of her life are like letters scattered upon the ground—the message is and is not. "I believe that she was led by the spirit of God, and that there was in her a virtue divine and not human," was the comment of a lawyer who had seen her at Orleans; and human ingenuity has not added anything essential to, or taken anything essential from, this verdict from that day to this. After four hundred years, in spite of the attentive study of scholars, the inquiry of science, the devotion of admirers—all of whom have conspired to erect into a cult the study of the life and character of Jeanne Darc,—in spite of everything, all explanations are tentative and imperfect, and themselves require explanation.

But to return to Orleans upon the Loire, the uttermost outpost of France against the English, whither Jeanne bent her steps after she had received the king's support. Orleans was a city of perhaps twenty thousand people, who lived in a strongly fortified territorial circumscriptio[n] of about one hundred acres in extent.\* The French army, when its new leader appeared, was demoralized,—an insensate rabble without order, deficient in respect for authority, lawless, brawling, licentious, and cruel. LaHire's notorious witticism—"If God should turn man-at-arms, He would be a cut-throat"—accurately illustrates the moral situation. The coming of the Maid changed the spirit of the army. LaHire himself ceased to swear by anything greater than his baton. The *morale* of the army, under the fire of her enthusiasm, was refined and purged of its dross. Its courage rose in degree. "Before she came," wrote a French chronicler, "two hundred Englishmen used to chase five hundred Frenchmen; after her coming two hundred Frenchmen used to chase four hundred English." Jeanne's theory of the art of war was plain: to hit hard and often,—a practice at variance with the desultory military methods of the time, when weeks were occupied in a languid siege. Orleans was saved; the campaign of the Loire was followed by the coronation of Charles VII., who had hitherto been, and that for eight years, only dauphin. Yet the mission of Jeanne Darc

was not over. The real end of her mission was the deliverance of France; Orleans and Rheims were means to that end. But the 23d of May, 1430— that month charged with so much fatality for her\*—witnessed her capture before Compiègne and her surrender to the English. The monarchy, under control of the infamous La Tremoille, stirred not a finger in her behalf. Charles was apathetic. Even the people, save in remote corners of France, were for the most part alienated or indifferent,—for when circumstances for which Jeanne was in no way responsible defeated her purposes, they wagged their heads in superstitious ignorance, thinking God had forsaken her. "From the time of her capture to her death," these are Mr. Lowell's melancholy words, "there came to Joan from the king she had crowned, from the council whose orders she had obeyed, and from the captains with whom she had served, not a word or a sign. Except for a few of her enemies who came at last to pity her, she was left alone. She lived and died as if king and court and soldiers and the *French nation* had ceased to exist" (p. 284). She had to sanctify her mission with the incense of martyrdom ere awakened France realized that the peasant girl of Domrémy was the trumpet of a prophecy.

The process by which Jeanne was tried was that of the Inquisition. It had to be so, for, by the laws of war as they then prevailed, a prisoner was the possession of her captor, who could put her to ransom if he pleased. Having purchased her for ten thousand pounds, the English government could not put her to death in cold blood, for the logic of the situation required that it be willing, too, to accept a ransom for her, if proffered. That none came, surprised the English. But some pretext had to be found to render control over her complete, even unto death. The Church afforded that recourse. Where the civil authority could not reach, that of the Church could. The guilt of heresy was the only means whereby the death penalty could be inflicted according to legal process. It required, however, all the learning that could be mustered by doctors bred to the bar, by professors from the University of Paris, and by priestcraft, to compass the life of Jeanne Darc. We have to thank Mr. Lowell for a very lucid account of the law and the procedure (pp. 259–60). Hour after hour, day after day, through the long and tedious trial,

\* The proportion between population and area presented in these figures indicates that overcrowding was a problem of urban life in the Middle Ages as to-day.

\* Jeanne Darc raised the siege of Orleans May 8, 1429; she was captured before Compiègne May 23, 1430, and executed May 30, 1431.

the intrepid girl foiled her enemies by the perfect candor of her speech, or disarmed them by the shrewdness of her retort. But she was between hammer and anvil, and could not escape, though it required the last device of the examiners to incriminate her.

"Joan had asserted that she was God's messenger, commissioned by Him through the voice of the saints and angels. It was possible, to say the least, that her inspiration was from the Devil. Was she willing to leave the question to the Church? If she refused submission, her guilt was established, for to deny the authority of the Church was at once the commonest and the deadliest of heresies. If she submitted, then the ecclesiastical tribunal before which she stood was ready to assume the functions of the Church, and to decide the question against her" (Lowell, p. 293).

But conviction alone would not satisfy her implacable foes. If she died unrepentant, the French might still believe in her, and that she had been put to death unjustly. Torture was evidently the only means which could break the spirit of the girl who had triumphantly stood out against those trained advocates. Weary, deserted, heartsick, homesick, in pain of body and in mental anguish, weakened by a year's imprisonment under brutal jailers and the strain of the trial during the fast of Lent which she had faithfully kept, the sensitive girl—for with all her divine qualities she was yet a woman—shrank from the white-hot brazier that with hellish ingenuity was shown to her with threats whose meaning could not be mistaken. For a moment the spirit wavered; the strain was more than nature could endure; the flesh cried out for relief—she recanted.\* Surely if Another, who was very God as well as very man, could cry for relief, then a relapse so soon recovered from and atoned for by the fires of martyrdom may be forgiven Jeanne Darc. Her retraction was of the lips and the hand, not of the heart; in the quiet of the cell to which she had been returned her brave heart rallied for the supreme test. "Whatever I said was said from fear of fire," she cried. But the fire was not to be at once, though it was certain. The Inquisition now strained its last cord in order to send her to the stake confessing the justice of her punishment! For months Jeanne had been denied the Eucharist; her pious soul shrank to enter the grave unattended by its holy influence. But the Eucharist could only be administered to a contrite penitent; if, therefore, she partook of it, it would seem the con-

fession of the sin whereof she stood accused. But her soul, as white as heaven, did not flinch before the teachings of those scribes and Pharisees.

The end was come. On May 30, 1431, in the market-square of Rouen, the courageous spirit was released; she was given to the fire, "from whose arms the winds," as was finely said of Shelley, "took her and shook her broadcast to the world." Like Shelley, too, her heart remained unconsumed. Her mission did not die with her. The ashes of that hearth in Rouen could not be extinguished, and quickened to life the feelings of the French nation.\* Out of France with the English!

Has the reader followed so far, to come only to the threshold of these works? Not so. Mr. Lowell's book, in what has been written, is behind us. It is serious, sober-suited history, conscientiously wrought out with fullest reference to sources and authorities. The grandeur of the theme would make the book one of absorbing interest apart from the grace of the writer. Mrs. Oliphant's "*Jeanne d'Arc*" (the reader will please forgive the three several forms of spelling her name) is rather a literary history. It is a gracefully written and sympathetic biography of the Maid. It will afford interesting reading for those who are fond of knowing results rather than processes, but the profit will be slight compared to that to be derived from reading Mr. Lowell. Of the "*Recollections of the Sieur Louis de Conte*" so much cannot be said. As intimated, it cannot claim that protection too often afforded the "historical" novel, for it has not the novel form—it is without plot, while the pretension to be history makes it amenable to the criticisms to which historical writing must always be subjected. To be plain, Mark Twain, like Tennyson in "*The Princess*," has made a gorgeous failure. The theme was too perfect to be marred by recourse to fiction. Moreover, by adopting the method he has, he has been forced to commit himself in places in which the cautious historian would hold judgment in abeyance. This was inevitable, for the "*Recollections*" are supposed to be the spontaneous outpouring of a heart devoted to her cause. But there are evidences that this spontaneity has been labored. The style is artificial, presenting an incongruous combination of archaic forms and present-day usages often in immediate juxtaposition. The actors move like fig-

\* The nature and extent of this abjuration is a matter of question. It is probable that she was unaware of the exact character of the document she signed. Her after-statements indicate that she had no intention of retreating from her essential position (*Cf.* Lowell, C. 23).

\* For proof of this, see "*Wars of the English in France*": Henry VI. (Rolle Series, edited by Stevenson) Introd. p. lxiii.

ures in a panorama; their language is neither wholly mediæval nor wholly modern, and the thought that is swayed in it is a curious blending of mediæval concepts and modern ideas. Jeanne at times moralizes like a philosopher, —as witness this nice bit of casuistry in a peasant lass:

"The Sieur Bertrand was amused at Joan's naive way of referring to her advice as if it had been a valuable present to a hostile leader who was saved by it from making a censorable blunder of omission, and then he went on to admire how ingeniously she had deceived that man and yet had not told him anything that was not the truth. This troubled Joan, and she said:

"I thought he was deceiving himself. I forbore to tell him lies, for that would have been wrong; but if my truths deceived him, perhaps that made them lies."

"She was assured that she had done right, and that in the perils and necessities of war deceptions that help one's own cause and hurt the enemy's were always permissible. . . . Jean (her brother) said:

"Joan, you told us yourself that you were going to Uncle Laxart's to nurse his wife, but you did n't say you were going further, yet you did go on to Vancoleurs. There!"

"I see now," said Joan, sorrowfully, "I told no lie, yet I deceived. . . . But the thing itself was right, and I would do it again!" It seemed an over-nice distinction, but nobody said anything" (pp. 92-3).

The Sieur de Conte, too, attempts the philosophy of history, in a simple narrative, and that of the fifteenth century:

"Joan was France, the spirit of France made flesh. That was a humble eye to see so great a truth where others failed. . . . And yet, after all, it was just what such natures do. When they love a great and noble thing, they embody it — they want it so that they can see it with their eyes; like Liberty, for instance (Verily, the French Revolution in 1492). They are not content with the cloudy abstract idea" (p. 174).

This edifying commentary upon the coronation might be a page from a history of 1789:

"Of all the wise people in high office in France, only one knew the priceless worth of this neglected prize. . . . How did she know it? It is simple: she was a peasant. That tells the whole story. She was of the people and knew the people; those others moved in a loftier sphere and knew nothing much about them. We make little account of that vague, formless, inert mass, that mighty underlying force which we call 'the people' — an epithet which carries contempt with it. It is a strange attitude; for at bottom we know that the throne which the people support stands, and that when that support is removed, nothing in the world can save it."

How many popular revolutions can Mark Twain point out in the Middle Ages? For a monarchy built up, not on popular right, but on privilege, flanked by princes and barons instead of "the people," the French monarchy was a pretty stable affair, since it lasted from 987 to 1789.

Page 89 presents us with so absurd a situation

that, remembering Mark Twain's former writings, one laughs at once. Jeanne, while leading her little band through the forest at night, in the darkness stumbles upon some English soldiers. A colloquy ensues between the English commander and Jeanne, who has been mistaken for an English trooper; and Jeanne, whose knowledge of the French language was not larger than the dialect of Lorraine, calmly holds converse in English (!) without betraying her identity. There are other evidences that the Sieur Louis de Conte must have experienced re-incarnation in 1835. Such phrases as "Tours was a *humming town*"; "he went on pouring out a most pathetic stream, . . . which broke Joan all up," are unmistakable American parlance. Criticism may not conclude here. As Jeanne's page and secretary professes to be writing history, and especially since the "translator" gives an extended list of authorities "examined in verification of the truth of this narrative," that history must be judged by the dicta of historical literature. The prophecy that a virgin would save France from her enemies is attributed (p. 72) to Merlin. The actual belief which prevailed in the reign of Charles VII. was that foretold by Mary of Avignon to Charles VI. The Battle of the Herrings was fought upon February 12, 1429, and not two days later (p. 75). Moreover, there is next to no proof that Jeanne prophesied this event — that is a fabrication of later days, an observation which the "translator" should have made in a warning note. At Chinon, "several weeks" (p. 107) did not elapse, but only a few days, before Jeanne saw Charles; and the commission to inquire into her early life was not sent into Lorraine until the investigation instituted at Poitiers. Jeanne's premonitions of capture did not come a full year (p. 216) before her taking at Compiègne. Our knowledge of this fact is based on her own testimony; the time between prophecy and fulfilment was not over two months. But the greatest blunder is made when the honor of selecting Richemont for constable of France is ascribed to her (pp. 259-60).

Mr. Lowell, too, has not wholly escaped errors, but they are of minor importance and concern Jeanne Darc in no particular save once. The exception has reference to her capture. It is probable — M. Cosneau says "*peut-être*" — that La Tremoille, the evil genius of Charles, was instrumental in betraying her; yet, strangely enough, Mr. Lowell makes no allusion to it. Aside from this important mat-

ter, criticism is limited. *E.g.*, Orleans is not in Touraine (p. 52); the University of Caen was established by the regent Bedford, and not after the English lost Paris in 1436. The most obvious error, however, is the statement that "an enormous body of the French nobility stumbled helplessly against the well-disciplined English troops at Agincourt" (p. 5). The truth of this battle is the exact reverse: the French wanted to fight, and the English could not avoid engagement.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

#### MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION AT ANDOVER.\*

Professor Harris, of Andover Theological Seminary, has given us, in his work on "Moral Evolution," a noble and notable contribution to the religious thought and life of America. The scope is comprehensive, embracing the essential principles and intimate relations of science, ethics, and religion. The spirit is eminently sane and catholic. Nothing crude or narrow or intemperate disfigures these pages. There is great clearness of thought, without dogmatism; deep earnestness, but freedom from intolerance; a glad acceptance of science, and yet no surrender of the commanding truths of religion. The widest hospitality toward the revelation now unfolding is linked with an historical appreciation that makes us always reverent of the past, though not slaves to its worthies. An abundant learning shines through, but does not encumber, these discussions of vast themes. The author has evidently read widely and meditated at length upon the varied topics which he treats; but instead of asking us to travel with him along all those weary and winding paths, he gives us, in short, clear, suggestive sentences, the discovery which he made by the way or the conclusion which he reached at the end. The literary method of the work is as satisfactory as its general temper. A fluent stream of discourse bears us onward through a varied landscape, always distinctly seen, and constantly opening into fresh views of truth and duty, both instructive and interesting.

No attempt is here made to reconcile science and religion after the manner of the crude carpentry of a quarter of a century ago; and still, throughout these chapters, these realms lie before us, not as rival, nor even as separate king-

doms, but as different phases of divine verities. Professor Harris fearlessly carries the scientific method over into the region of piety, assuming that reverence will build an altar wherever the torch of discovery lights up the universe. He boldly appropriates for the service of religion every new truth that the scientist reveals, claiming that the more we really know the profounder must be our worship and the ampler our philanthropy. And everywhere he brings out the ethical import of facts and insists upon a more ethical ministry of the church, holding that knowledge must be made fruitful in human worth and that theology must make the moral law central.

We have, therefore, a discussion that is completely emancipated from the old apologetic tone, and yet it is a treatment of a great subject that makes powerfully for a noble reconciliation, leaving both thought and worship free. While the teaching is lifted far above the petty preachers of small moralists, every sentence glows with an ethical passion which communicates to the reader the enthusiasm of humanity. And though cast in a mould very different from that of dogmatic theology, this is nevertheless a discourse upon God, which leads us to find his presence in all facts, and to trace his ways, with the glow of wonder and worship, through all the manifold affairs of humanity. Withal, it is a plea for a religion that shall be rational and humane; for a theology that shall be ethical and practical; for an application of science that shall fruit in philanthropic service; and for an interpretation of our ethical life that shall make it the human expression, through the method of evolution, of what is essential in Universal Being.

After some brief but pertinent remarks respecting the misuse of the term "Evolution," Professor Harris traces the various bearings upon the problem of ethics of the great modern discovery which this word represents. He criticises both Professor Huxley and Mr. Kidd, holding, against the former, that the ethical law and life are included within the cosmical process; and against the latter, that our spiritual life is essentially rational. Ethics and evolution, he claims, are neither identical nor antagonistic, but moral sentiment unfolds in harmony with the general evolution of the cosmos, and ethical principles come to expression in humanity through a process of evolution which is an essential part of the unfolding of the universe.

The individual plays a large part in this eth-

\* MORAL EVOLUTION. By George Harris, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

ical process; and just because of this fact (which recent writers have been inclined to overlook), "self-realization" is as divine an obligation as "altruism." Here we have a needed corrective of what is unwise in extreme phases of socialism. While "sympathy" makes the community possible, "self-love" is just as necessary to build up individuals without whom there can be no prosperous or progressive community. It is here that Professor Harris makes his most original and valuable contribution to the discussion of ethics. He contends: "The truth is that self-realization is as moral as altruism" (p. 133). His survey and criticism of different ethical theories is interesting though brief, but his emphasis upon "self-realization" brings into prominence a somewhat neglected phase of moral truth; and though he will probably meet with opposition at this point, there is so much of practical wisdom in his words, and the spirit playing through them is so sober and thoughtful, that it is well worth while to have this forcible and suggestive presentation.

Following this discussion of the rootage and character of ethical principles in general, Professor Harris devotes the next seven chapters (VIII.-XIV.) to an application of these truths to religion. And this complicated subject he treats in a broad and forward-looking spirit. He brings religion and morality into close association, tracing the reactions of each upon the other. Religion flows into morality as inspiration and motive power, while morality becomes the test and fruitage of religion. The thought of God is given in our experience of nature: "That which is intelligible has intelligence in it" (p. 185). The love of God as the "Good" springs from our experience with human nature: "The moral order, as observed in history, is a divine order" (p. 191). The Christian ideal is described, both as a personal estate and as a social order, a plea being made for the use of the term "Christian Ethics" (following Dorner and also Smyth), which seems far from wise, while a protest is made against overworking the idea of "the kingdom of heaven," which, though an inspiring phrase, is not an exhaustive description of Christianity.

The chapter on "Degeneration," not very germane, and certainly inadequate as an examination of the problem of moral evil, is followed by a longer discussion of the regeneration of the individual and of society. It is graciously admitted that *regeneration* is a process far wider than Christendom, while this process is

defined with no reference to that supernaturalism by which theologians so long obscured a spiritual awakening native to man as a man. Some conservative observations are devoted to economic methods and agencies, with a plea that the ethical element be more largely recognized, both in theory and practice. Judicious but brief remarks are made upon the Family, Democracy, and the Public Schools, especially as they contribute to that moral evolution which works itself out as personal and social regeneration. While insisting upon the necessarily secular but not irreligious character of the common school, the very obvious but often neglected truth is stated: "It is inconsistent with our principles for the state to assume religious functions" (p. 388).

The last two chapters of the book are occupied with a discussion of the modifications in theology made inevitable by the new views respecting both ethics and evolution. A few quotations—very significant when we consider that they emanate from a professor in Andover Theological Seminary—indicate how Professor Harris interprets the trend and quality of modern religious thought. It is very truly said: "The centre of doctrine has been shifting from sovereignty to fatherhood. It is believed that power is directed by reason, and reason by love" (p. 401). Revelation is described very broadly:

"Revelation and evolution are two sides of one and the same reality. . . . It is a mistaken view of revelation which sees in it only intervention; only an exceptional and disconnected breaking in upon orderly movement. . . . Revelation is not by occasional stroke, but by a continuous process. It is not superimposed, but inherent. . . . All realities, then, are revelations. Nature, humanity, and genius, which is the epitome of humanity, are embodiments of divine truth, goodness, and beauty" (pp. 411, 414, 415).

In setting forth the claim that Christianity is preëminently an ethical religion, whose gospel as proclaimed by Jesus himself made personal righteousness central, this condemnation is passed upon teachings still all too popular: "Some evangelistic and revivalistic preaching in effect represents salvation as independent of character" (p. 397). The old traditional theory of the atonement is criticised in these words:

"Until recently the usual representations of atonement were justly open to the charge of immorality. Even now, such representations continue to be made to a considerable degree. The moral sense is shocked at some of the reasons given for atonement. The imputation of our sins to Christ has been so stated that it seemed as if all regard for righteousness had been overlooked. The penal suffering of Christ was regarded as the philosophy of atonement. It was believed that God

laid on Christ the penalty of our sins, or a suffering equivalent to that penalty. . . . This disappearing theory fails to satisfy because it is immoral, because it places salvation somewhere else than in character, because it converts the sympathy and love of Christ into legal fictions, because it places the ethical demands of justice above the ethical necessities of love" (p. 407).

It is strongly urged that the old interpretation of providence, which consigned millions to perdition, is immoral :

" Still another immoral conception of God is that which represents him as leaving vast multitudes of his children to perish or to sink into hopeless perdition without giving them the truth which can save them. . . . The moral sense revolts from such an idea. Few preachers and theologians can now be found who believe that the masses of heathendom are eternally lost. From the logic of the premise that the earthly life is decisive of the destiny of all men, escape is sought in various ways; as, that all souls have the essential Christ, that multitudes of heathen are renewed in character before death and only need the sunlight of Christ's presence to develop those seeds of holy character which have already begun to germinate. These lame devices show that the conception of God is changing" (p. 402).

To the present reviewer, the least satisfactory part of this most hopeful and interesting volume is that devoted to the person of Jesus. There is everywhere most admirable candor and absolute freedom from dogmatism. It is delightful to read an author who, besides being just to opponents, is still a seeker for truth, and holds his views subject to revision. He readily admits that many beliefs about Jesus, once asserted as necessary to salvation, are no part of essential Christianity. Professor Harris does indeed bring Jesus a long way out of the mists of tradition into the light of history. A vast amount of supernaturalism is stripped off by this short sentence: "The power of Jesus resides in his own character of goodness" (p. 304). The limitation of Jesus is freely admitted: "In knowledge he was not omniscient. He gained information as other men did. He shared the opinions of his time as to the universe, and in other essential respects was truly human. He had wonderful insight, but did not have omniscience" (p. 404). It is noted with gladness that recently a radical change has occurred in the world's thought of Jesus: "The change has amounted to a recovery of his humanity" (p. 403). This change is welcomed as a step forward: "He is believed in as a human incarnation and revelation of the God of holy love. This is a marked instance of the moral evolution of theology" (p. 404). The miracles in general are looked upon with some uncertainty, and are considered at best as "secondary in importance." The

belief in the resurrection is admitted to be attended with grave difficulties; while the virgin birth, though not denied, is not regarded as an essential doctrine of Christianity. Here is progress indeed, but not that clearness of vision that would result from a frank acceptance of the existence of legendary elements in the Gospels, which is the position of the best Biblical scholarship of the day.

JOSEPH HENRY CROOKER.

#### THE HELLENISTIC EMPIRE IN EGYPT.\*

Mr. Mahaffy's very able work on "The Empire of the Ptolemies" will be warmly welcomed by every student of that great and fascinating Hellenistic world, created by the conquests of Alexander, which brought into their most intimate contact the civilizations of Asia and the Nile valley on the one hand, and of Europe on the other. For the first time in the world's history, continental and race distinctions are at this period effectually broken up; the student feels that he is surveying the combined history of the Mediterranean countries and their neighbors, irrespective of geographical lines or linguistic affinities. For the student of that Europe which finally emerged from this great inter-continental commingling, it is of vital importance to understand fully the complicated contact by which so much of oriental civilization was absorbed into western culture. Nowhere in the Mediterranean basin can this phase of the Hellenistic period be studied so favorably as at Alexandria. Here the intense religious feeling of the orient, the highest level of Eastern achievement in industries, art, and architecture, in politics, typical oriental despotism, the best learning of the East in law, science, and religion, including that of the Jews, — in fine, all the elements of the incalculably ancient civilization of the East,—are found side by side and in daily contact with the complex life of cultivated Europe. The Nile valley has preserved to us documentary and monumental remains of all this, as they have never been elsewhere preserved.

The results of a study of these survivals are for the most part to be found only in learned and bulky treatises, quite inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Mr. Mahaffy has therefore done great service in furnishing a scholarly and at the same time very readable account of the

\*THE EMPIRE OF THE PTOLEMIES. By J. P. Mahaffy. New York: Macmillan & Co.

Ptolemaic or Hellenistic domination in Egypt. Besides his eminent fitness for the task as a scholar, Mr. Mahaffy has enjoyed unusual privileges in the study of the most recently discovered Greek papyri, which have often come directly into his hands from the spade of the excavator in Egypt,—as, for example, those unearthed by Mr. Petrie. These papyri are of the greatest interest, and afford us glimpses of the life of the people such as are rarely to be found in the writings of the Greek or Roman historians. Sometimes it is a bill, again a deed, now a receipt, or it may be the court record of a lawsuit; but out of it all we are gradually gaining a picture of the life of the common people in the Egypt of a few centuries before and after Christ.

The history of the Ptolemies is perhaps the most difficult to unravel in all the Graeco-Roman world. It swarms with unsolved problems; and often, at the most interesting juncture, the paucity of materials, or their complete failure, preclude any safe conclusion. Moreover, it is a new field. As Mr. Mahaffy says in his preface: "The writer on Ptolemaic history feels himself in some sort a pioneer, who is liable to be baulked by unexpected obstacles, misled by ardent expectations, diverted from his path by false informations. Yet are all these risks and dangers unable to outweigh the intense interest of penetrating a country either unexplored or imperfectly described by former travellers." It must be said that the author has shown notable skill in meeting the unusual difficulties of his task. Of course, he owes much to his German predecessors in the same field; but it is evident that he is quite master of his material, and capable of independent judgment, even when he follows his German authorities rather closely. In one notable respect he is much superior to the Germans, and that is in the charming style which he commands. His history never degenerates into an arid chronicle. This is due to the nature of the man, but also to the fact that wherever his classic sources flow scantily he is able to fill out a meagre chronicle of political events with a vivid picture of the life of the times, taken from the welcome Greek papyri with which he is enviably familiar.

The work is so largely concerned with involved detail, with complex political and governmental problems, that it is impossible to offer any epitome of the ground covered. A few points where the author's conclusion may be open to question should, however, be noted.

In writing on the first Ptolemy, Mr. Mahaffy uses Brugsch's translation, made twenty-five years ago, of the well-known hieroglyphic inscription dating from the seventh year of the young Alexander. This translation is obsolete and very inaccurate. Its inaccuracy has affected the author's conclusion on a very important point. He is inclined to think that it was as late as 305 B.C. before Ptolemy I. "formally called himself king" (p. 58); but in the second line of the above inscription Ptolemy is referred to as "king" (*Coptic ouro*), which Brugsch has given its older meaning, "great satrap," no longer conceivable at this late date. Moreover, in line eight of the inscription (and in other places) Ptolemy is referred to as "his majesty." Now this is at least five years earlier than 305 B.C. However, the bulk of the material is in Greek, and it is not often that the author is obliged to take his translations at second hand. In the main, he has handled his purely Egyptian sources very well. "*Chem*" (p. 70) is a mistake from Murray's guide-book, and is given correctly "*Chnum*" on p. 489. "*Hatasu*" (pp. 128–9 and 387) is apparently an error so deeply rooted that it will take another generation to correct it. On p. 387 we have "*Dayr-el-Medineh*," but on p. 272 it was "*Deyr*." We do not understand the reference to Alexandria (p. 77) as being a hundred miles distant from the Fayum. Even the shortest air-line across the desert is one hundred and twenty miles.

The author's conjecture (p. 273), in opposition to Diodorus, that the Nubian king Ergamenes was contemporary with Ptolemy IV., finds brilliant confirmation in the recent excavations at Philæ. Herr Borchardt writes me from the first cataract, that they have discovered, on Philæ, a temple in which the name of the Nubian Ergamenes occurs together with that of the fourth Ptolemy.

On the whole, the author shows an evident inclination to idealise the Ptolemies, a tendency in which he is distinctly at variance with the Germans. Undue weight seems to be given to any indication of noble qualities in any member of the family. Nevertheless, this is one of the charms of the book, and undoubtedly the most readable passages in the treatise are those in which the fair side of the picture is presented. Especially admirable are the accounts of the institutions of Alexandria founded and maintained by the Ptolemies for the cultivation of Greek literature and learning. Although so much remains to be done in this field, although

much is discovered every year, nevertheless Mr. Mahaffy's book will long remain the standard work upon the Ptolemaic period for the scholar or the man of letters, and will be permanently useful even to the specialist. Its usefulness is much enhanced by a full chronological table and a complete index. The classical scholar will welcome the Greek text of the Decree of Canopus and the stone of Rosette, with critical notes. The typographical work is excellent, and externally the book shows the best of workmanship.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

#### BOOKS ABOUT BOOKS.\*

Voltaire made a most unfortunate observation when he said that rare books are worth nothing, since if they are worth anything they would not be rare. We know better nowadays; or, at least, we may easily learn better if we will read some of the numerous books lately issued dealing with the facts or the philosophy of rarity in books. At the outset, we must be brave enough to ignore Voltaire's implied reproach of those who seek a book for other reasons than its literary or human interest, and must admit without shame that we do care for the so-called "externals" of a book — the binding, style, date, and the story of its individual existence. If we cannot enter into sympathy with Charles Lamb, and his exquisite story of the book which he so coveted that for its sake the old brown suit was made to hang on six weeks longer; if we cannot understand why it is that it is never the ninety and nine treatises which a bibliomaniac has, but the hundredth which he has not, that entrances his mind and fires his ambition, filling him with the opium-eater's bliss without the opium-eater's bale — then the gates of ex-libris land are probably barred against us forever. But if we do kindle at the thought of a "first edition," if we do seek to know something of the principles of this noble industry and royal sport of book-hunting, which is as old as literature itself, the means of knowing are at hand.

The novice, one who has not mastered so much as the technical phrases and terminology, will find just the authority — the primer of the subject — in Mr. Brander Matthews's recent work on "Bookbindings Old and New." There he will learn the meaning and see the illustration of what are called, in book-

\* **BOOKBINDINGS OLD AND NEW.** By Brander Matthews. New York: Macmillan & Co.

**EXCURSIONS IN LIBRARIA.** Being Retrospective Reviews and Bibliographical Notes. By G. H. Powell. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

**RARE BOOKS AND THEIR PRICES;** with Chapters on Pictures, Pottery, Porcelain, and Postage Stamps. By W. Roberts. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co.

**LADIES' BOOK-PLATES.** By Norma Labouchere. The "Ex-Libris Series," edited by Gleeson White. London: George Bell & Sons. (Macmillan & Co., New York.)

binder's parlance, "tools," "powders," "fanfares," etc.; will be initiated into the technique of the bibliopigic craft in its two stages of "forwarding" and "finishing"; will get a glimpse at the sequence of styles in different countries and at different dates, and at the characteristics which mark them as "Alidine," "Grolier," "Henry II.," "Padeloup," "Dermome," "Cobden-Sanderson," or by other names with which later study continually will bring him in contact; will be shown the causes why bookbinding in the nineteenth century, while improving as a handicraft, has declined as an art, and in America has been retarded by causes outside of art.

The great beauty of all the early bindings is in the lavish and tasteful ornamentation of the sides. In the early days of printing, and when the traditions of manuscripts still were dominant, the shelves of a library inclined like a reading-desk, and the handsome volumes lay on their sides, taking their ease. Instead of being packed together on level shelves with only the backs visible, each stately tome stood forth singly, and the broad sides of the ample folios seemed to invite decoration.

The chapters dealing with "extra binding" — the covering of a single volume in accord with the fancy of the owner of that one book — occupy about half of Mr. Matthews's work, and are followed by equally lucid and profitable chapters on the more prosaic subjects of "Commercial Bookbinding," "Books in Paper Covers," and "The Grolier Club in New York." The story of this New York club, named after a book-lover and collector who was born before this continent was discovered, is one of great interest. Its constitution declares that "its object shall be the literary study and promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of books." That is to say, the Grolier Club is interested in books, not as literature, but as works of art. Although many of its members are scholars and students of literature, it is with the art and mystery of the book-maker, the printer, the engraver, and the binder, and not with the secrets of authorship, that they concern themselves; as a result the Grolier Club has established a standard of formal excellence in bibliography higher and more exacting than any now existing in Europe. The reader will be specially grateful for the magnificence and abundance of the illustrations, presenting, as they do, examples of every form of the art from its earliest beginnings to the paper covers of the latest American magazine.

As an equipment in the principles which govern the practice of book-buying, one may be referred to an essay on "The Philosophy of Rarity," by Mr. G. H. Powell — the first and longest of the essays composing the volume called "Excursions in Libraria." The "philosophy" here expounded is the craft and "venerie" of the book-hunter. It distinguishes between different classes of books of which "some are born rare, some achieve rarity, and some have rarity thrust upon them."

Volumes of, so to speak, native rarity are those printed in relatively remote places, in small quan-

tities (either owing to the expense of production or peculiarity of the subject, or merely for the sake of the consequent rarity), or at private presses. The collector who values books according to the locality of their origin will do well to have at his fingers' ends the various dates at which printing was introduced into the different capitals and countries of the world, the degrees by which Italy, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and England fall behind Germany,—the more distant countries, the East and America, coming of course later still; for all these, the standard of rarity on account of place and date has to be shifted proportionately. Of the books which, though produced in plenty, have been reduced to rarity by recent demand, notable examples are the first editions of modern romances, which of late years have formed the chief big game of London booksellers. Artistic beauty of any kind is inevitably at a premium. Comparatively few modern productions, even when printed by hand on hand-made paper, are as attractive as the commonest manual or treatise of the fifteenth century. The volumes which composed the Grolier library of three hundred years ago are now treated as veritable works of art; they have their catalogue, like the pictures of a great painter or the plates of a great engraver, and are numbered. Every existing book bound for Grolier has its pedigree, and is traced lovingly from catalogue to catalogue of the great collectors.

The rarity that is "achieved" results in a somewhat fanciful and fluctuating form of value, being affected by artificial diminution of the supply, as by destructions through fire, invading armies, and like calamities, in some cases also by destructions through exceeding popularity. The plunder of the Pisistratian collection by Xerxes; the burning of one-half of the Alexandrian library by the soldiers of Julius Caesar, and of the other half some seven hundred years later by the Khalif Omar; the ravages of the Goths, and of the French, Spanish, and German invaders of Italy, and scores of other mediæval calamities,—these and later accidents and crimes have swelled the tale of valuable books which are no more, or exist only in such quantity as to be practically *introuvable*. Mr. Powell suggests that the librarian of King Osymandias, whose collection was formed, we are told, "less than four centuries after the Flood," might have been able to tell us something of the literature already known to be destroyed at that date! We are not to assume that high-priced catalogues, or auction duels terminating in rounds of applause, are things belonging to the nineteenth century. This first of libraries possibly possessed some priceless relic which the Brunet of the day would have described as "*Ouvrage assez ancien; Exemplaire portant l'autographe de Japhet; Quelques feuilles mouillées par le Déluge.*"

Of books that "have rarity thrust upon them," the most conspicuous are those which, by rising to the high-water mark of the free thought of the age, have been persecuted or summarily suppressed by authority, bigotry, or high-placed corruption. One

of the rarest books in existence is the tract of Servetus entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*, of which only one copy is known now to exist, nearly all the edition having been burned with the author, at the instigation of his former friend, Calvin, in 1558; and next might come the same author's three tracts on the Trinity, printed in italics, 1532. A work of which only two or three copies are said to be known is the *Cymbalum Mundi* (1537). Every kind of shocking impiety was long attributed to the author, till at last it occurred to one eminent bibliographer of the last century to read the book, which he accordingly did, and found it of quite depressing propriety.

During the interesting period of the revival of learning and thought, ecclesiastical damnation came to confer upon the volumes it honored a sort of hallmark of excellence, or at least of candor and originality, and the most select catalogue of books ordered "to be burnt by the common hangman" would be very long indeed. Thus, often, bibliography becomes a very material part of history. Many indeed are the books whose appearance marks the accession of something far more important than king or queen, nay of that which often may destroy kings, queens, and existing conventions generally, to-wit, a new idea. The final ripening of scientific conclusions, the impatient outbursts of long-shackled humor and good sense, the explosions of oppressed suffering, and the exultant happiness of peace and secured civilization — all these leave their mark in the records of bibliography, and are more important and more interesting than all the official Acts of Sovereigns and States.

Mr. W. Roberts's small volume on "Rare Books and their Prices" ought to rebuke all who scorn the enthusiasm of the collector. Here, the antiquity of collecting is shown to be almost as great as that of the world itself, and the spirit of the collector to have undergone but little change during the last two thousand years. The list of collectors in ancient Rome includes many illustrious names, e. g., Sallust the historian, in whose garden the *Dying Gladiator* was found; Asinus Pollio, the orator, poet, historian, and friend of Augustus, who once owned the *Toro Farnese*, now at Naples; whilst even Anthony and Brutus stand before the world clearly convicted of the hobby for collecting. The collecting instinct being more or less deeply grained in human nature, the difference between the boy who accumulates postage stamps or letter-heads and the man who collects books or pictures is simply a difference of taste and of money, and not of spirit. Mr. Roberts takes up the subject in the four departments of Books, Pictures, Pottery and Porcelain, and Postage Stamps.

For notable acquisitions in any of these fields, nothing is plainer than that one has need to be as rich as Crœsus, or the person typified as the "Chicago pork-butcher." To speak of books alone, we are told of one volume, the *Psalmorum Codex*, printed by Fust and Schœffer in 1459, which brought

the extraordinary sum of £4950. This is the highest price ever paid for a single book, and it is undoubtedly the grandest specimen of typographic art in existence. It is the second book printed with a date. The very first works of the earliest printers have never been excelled in the beauty of their execution, and they will for all time stand as an incentive as well as a reproach to modern printers.

The editions of the English Bible printed during the earlier half of the sixteenth century maintain high prices, but anything like a fair comparison is difficult, as the copies which have come under the hammer during the last fifty years vary much in the degree to which they are imperfect. The theory that reading a book sometimes becomes a deadly sin, assumes, in the eyes of a collector, a very practical form in connection with the early English Bibles. The Bible's extreme popularity with our forefathers, as a book to read, makes perfect copies extremely rare. An absolutely complete example would probably bring over £1000.

Of the publications of Caxton, England's first printer, there are about 560 examples in existence. The highest sum ever paid for a Caxton is £1950, the book being the Harleian copy of "King Arthur" (the only perfect copy known), and the purchaser ("unfortunately, and to the lasting disgrace of England," according to Mr. Roberts), an American collector, Mrs. Pope.

The works of Shakespeare, so far as the original quartos and folios are concerned, yield to no other in their advance in price among book-fanciers. At the time of publication, the quartos sold for a few pence. Now they sometimes realize between £300 and £400. Of the first folio, a matchless copy is priced by a bookseller at £1200.

The attraction of a first edition over the second or subsequent issues falls into the category of things which are not explainable on ordinary principles. A writer in the "Speaker" has described the "mania" for first editions as a "purely spiritual joy," and, as with all spiritual joys, the experience thereof is a thing of feeling and not of argument. The first editions of Thackeray and Dickens realize very high prices when they possess the printed covers and the advertisements of the original parts. To the lay mind, a tastefully bound volume offers attractions not possessed by a set of "parts" in their dingy wrappers; but not so to the collector. The "Poems by Two Brothers," as issued in 1827, in boards and with a paper label at the back, costs ten times as much as the most beautiful complete modern edition of Tennyson; and a set of the latest complete edition of Browning's works, substantially bound, in all sixteen volumes, costs less than a single copy of "Bells and Pomegranates" in the original parts.

The outward and visible mark of the citizenship of the book-lover is his book-plate. To have a book-plate gives a collector great serenity and self-confidence, since few borrowers will have the temerity to ask for the loan of a volume dignified by a book-

plate. To the list of authorities in this branch of art must now be added Norna Labouchere, who writes of "Ladies' Book-plates" in a beautiful and elaborately illustrated volume. The aim of the work is to trace the history of women's plates, and to give some account of those ex-libris which seem to call for special attention, either from the interest attached to their owners or for the intrinsic merit of the designs.

The plates of men and women ought to be essentially different. A spinster bears her paternal arms on a lozenge; a married woman bears her paternal arms impaled with those of her husband on a shield, or if she is an heiress, or co-heiress, her husband marshals them upon his shield charged as an escutcheon of pretence; a widow bears the same, but on a lozenge instead of a shield. Men continually adorn their plates with the figure of a woman, but women have seldom returned the compliment. The modern book-plate is commonly a pictorial effort to describe in one small vignette the varied tastes of the owner and the miscellaneous contents of the volumes of his library. Rumor has it that the inevitable bicycle has even made its appearance upon a lady's book-plate. Incongruous as this seems for a library, possibly the fleet wheels might serve as symbol of the swift flight of time when a book is the companion.

Delightful as one may find it to linger in the realms of the four books we have discussed, yet fortunate indeed is it that no one need be unhappy if debarred from the luxuries and splendors which they describe. For is not a happiness still greater to be found in a small working library where the books are well selected and thoughtfully arranged in accordance with one central code of taste, and may be consulted respectfully at any moment by the master of their destinies? Even so genuine a book-lover and ardent a collector as Edmund Gosse has declared: "If fortune made me possessor of a book of excessive value, I should hasten to part with it. In a little working library, to hold a first quarto of 'Hamlet' would be like entertaining a reigning monarch in a small farmhouse at harvesting."

ANNA B. McMAHAN.

#### BRIEFS ON NEW BOOKS.

Froude's "Lectures on the Council of Trent" (Scribner) were delivered on the *Reformation* in 1892-3, forming the first of three courses delivered during the eighteen months in which Mr. Froude was in residence at Oxford as Regius Professor of Modern History. Two of these courses, the lectures on Erasmus and on the English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century, have already been published. It is to be regretted that Mr. Froude was not able to supervise the preparation of the present volume, as he would doubtless have improved it by some pruning and reshaping, and especially by the addition of references to his authorities. The lectures, which are now printed substantially

as they originally stood, were addressed to varying audiences of students, and hence contain more or less iteration of leading facts and insistence on elemental principles which, however well adapted to class-room exposition, may seem superfluous to the reader. But the book is of course extremely readable and suggestive. It would have been next to impossible for Mr. Froude to be trite or dull on any subject; and in the Reformation he had a theme to stimulate to the utmost the peculiar pungency of his trenchant pen. Nearly two-thirds of the volume is occupied with the story of the Reformation, from the "monkish squabble" (as Pope Leo phrased it) over indulgences, up to the convening of the Council in 1545; the remainder being mainly devoted to the manifold diplomatic shifts and the doctrinal and disciplinary wranglings of that notable conclave, down to its suspension in 1552, upon the advance on Innspruck of Maurice of Saxony. This advance, we may say in passing, Mr. Froude inclines to think was a matter of collusion between Maurice and the Emperor, and not, as is commonly held, an act of treachery on the part of the former. There was certainly something both noble and pathetic in the long struggle of Charles V. to save the unity of Christendom by pacific measures, and to quench the flames of the *odium theologicum* with the sweet waters of reason and charity; and it seems not improbable that the utter failure of his *naïve* hopes of bringing warring ecclesiastics to compromise their doctrinal differences like reasonable men, and to secure the peace of Europe on a basis of broad apostolic Christianity, may have caused him at last to wash his hands indignantly of the entire matter. The advance of Maurice on Innspruck came in May, 1552, and the peace of Passau followed in July, establishing toleration in Germany—a sort of *modus vivendi* which lasted till the bitter and devastating ordeal of the Thirty Years' War; and Charles V., as our author notes, took no part in the settlement, and interested himself no further in the quarrels of Pope and Protestant. While Mr. Froude clearly holds throughout a brief for the Reformers, he relies mainly on the testimony of Catholic writers—accepting for the nonce Cardinal Newman's charitable view that Protestant tradition in the case is founded on "bold, wholesale, and unscrupulous lying." That there may have been some mild prevarication on the other side as well, seems probable; but, nevertheless, Mr. Froude rests his cause on "Catholic documents of undoubted authenticity, on the testimony of Catholic witnesses antecedent to or contemporary with the Reformation." His main contention is that the Reformation was originally and essentially a moral and laical rather than a doctrinal revolt. The Church had grown scandalously corrupt and unbearably tyrannical; and Europe rose to demand a general cleansing of the Augean stables. The Church, conscious of guilt and dreading scrutiny, resisted reform, resented the interference of the laity, ingeniously turned the moral controversy into a doctrinal one,—and the great schism fol-

lowed. "The garment without seam was torn;" and upon the papal party mainly rested the blame. Just how far the reforming zeal of the princes may have been inflamed and alloyed by their desire to lay hold of church property (almost a third of the land in Germany was in the hands of the clergy), Mr. Froude omits to say; but candor compels us to admit a considerable tincture of regard for selfish and material interests in the stoutest supporters of the Reformation. To the German princes especially, the broad domains of the Church formed a glittering bait. To the common assertion that the Reformation "settled nothing," Mr. Froude replies, pretty effectually, that every one of the abuses complained of by the laity has been swept away: "Popes no longer depose princes, dispense with oaths, or absolve subjects from their allegiance. Appeals are not any more carried to Rome from the national tribunals, nor justice sold there to the highest bidder. Felonious priests suffer for their crimes like unconsecrated mortals. Too zealous prelates cannot call poor creatures before them *ex officio*, cross-question them on their beliefs, fine, imprison, or burn them at the stake. Excommunications are kept in bounds by the law of libel. Itinerant pardons vendors no longer hawk through Europe their unprofitable wares. . . . These scandals are gone, and the devoutest Romanists would not wish to revive them." It would have been not only generous but just in Mr. Froude to follow his somewhat harsh indictment of the Romish Church by a tribute to the superb reforming movement which took place in that body under the pontiffs who held sway during the latter half of the sixteenth century. When the Church finally armed herself to combat heresy, her first care was to check the scandals which men like Cardinal Julian, Contarini, Sadoletto, and Caraffa had long deplored.

The conclusion of Barras's memoirs. In our issue of June 16, 1895, we reviewed at length Volumes I. and II. of the "Memoirs of Barras" (Harper). Volumes III. and IV., concluding this sensational and in some respects valuable work, are now ready. Volume III. covers the period extending from the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, Year V., to that of the 18th Brumaire, Year VIII. Volume IV. begins with and narrates the events of the 18th Brumaire, and ends with the year 1828, comprising therefore the Consulate, the Empire, the first Restoration, and the greater part of the second. Volume III. is mainly taken up with the story of the quarrels and intrigues of the Directorial régime, and might prove rather dull reading were it not for the abundant anecdotes and caustic pen-portraits with which the ex-Director chose to spice his pages. The *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire put an end to the Directory, and so formally relegated Barras to private life. From that date to the time of his death, in 1829, he played no political rôle whatsoever—at least, no official one. Volume IV., however, covering this period of formal retirement from

the arena of politics, is much more interesting than its immediate predecessor, since Barras remained to the end one of the closest and best-informed observers of public events of his day, keeping in close touch with the chief actors, intriguing and plotting during the period of the Consulate and of the Empire, and even playing, in a way, the part of consulting statesman to Louis XVIII., Charles X., and their Ministers. Like the earlier volumes, the concluding ones bristle with piquant personalities. The Jacobinical Viscount was preeminently a man who dared call a spade a spade; and one rejoices, for the credit of human nature in general, that his rancorous accounts of most of his leading contemporaries must be rather freely discounted. Bonaparte is, as before, the main target for his shafts; and we are inclined to think that, with all its exaggerations, and perhaps falsehoods, the picture he draws of his arch-enemy contains elements of essential truth which conscientious historians must reckon with in the future. Barras was unquestionably a strong and able, if an unprincipled, man. He exploited more adroitly than any other leading revolutionist, except perhaps his fellow-Provençal, Barère, the events of the time to his own profit; and his record of those events, while somewhat warped and discolored by his personal animosities and inveterate bent for calumny, cannot be read without deep interest and (if read discriminately) profit. The copious introductory matter, furnished by M. George Duruy, forms at once an admirable historical study of the period embraced by the Memoirs, and a useful touchstone by which its more doubtful elements may be tested. M. Duruy has a very low opinion of Barras, and a correspondingly high one of Napoleon; so that, between author and editor, the judicious reader should be able to arrive at a pretty accurate judgment. The volumes are well translated and handsomely made — containing seven portraits in photogravure, together with *fac similes*, plans, etc.

*Bishop Lightfoot's historical essays.* Under the title "Historical Essays" (Macmillan), the trustees of the

Lightfoot fund have gathered together several miscellaneous papers of a historic nature, written at odd times since 1872 by the late Bishop Lightfoot of Durham. Marked by zealous research and careful comparisons of authorities, the unfinished essay on the "Manor-House of Auckland" is likely to interest the student who cares for out-of-the-way things in the history of English architecture. In its fragmentary shape, however, it seems hardly worth publishing. In the four other papers which make up the volume the reader will seldom forget that he is listening to a churchman. At the same time, it must be said that these papers are charming in style, and admirably constructed to bring into clear outline the subjects with which they are concerned. "Christian Life in the Second and Third Centuries," the first paper, delivered as three lectures in 1872 at St. Paul's Cathedral, before Lightfoot was called to Durham, indicates at the

outset the author's constructive power. From a mass of material he has chosen a few telling incidents which serve to trace the slow but steady growth of Christianity during its most critical stage. Passing by the paper on the "Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions," with its several rather startling conclusions, the reader will find himself under the guidance of a delightful companion in the course of the essay entitled "England during the Latter Half of the Thirteenth Century." The estimates of such men as Earl Simon de Montfort, Edward I., and Roger Bacon, are judicious and strong. An interesting comparison is drawn between the Pointed English architecture of the age of Edward and the Doric style of Greece in the days of Pericles. The concluding study of "Donne, the Poet-Preacher" gives a glimpse of that curious figure among English churchmen. Throughout the volume, but notably in the last essay, the reader cannot escape the spell of Bishop Lightfoot's personality: the themes were his favorites, and his finely-wrought mind dwelt upon them in a noble and inspiring way.

*A memorial to Mrs. G. E. Grant.* A beautiful memorial volume has been printed for private distribution among the friends of the late Mrs. George Rowswell Grant, of Chicago, whose untimely demise two years ago was noted in these pages. Genevieve Grahame Grant was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Fernando Jones, and was a woman of remarkable intellectual attainments and social charm. She was best known to the public as the founder, in 1889, of the Twentieth Century Club of Chicago, while by the large circle of her friends, which included many of the most distinguished people of America and Europe, she is remembered as a woman of graceful presence, rare tact, and keen intellectual sympathies. The memorial volume which is the occasion of these remarks includes two portraits, a brief but satisfactory memoir by the loving hand of "one who knew her almost from her cradle to her grave," a number of her contributions to various papers (including THE DIAL), a selection from her correspondence, and a tribute to her activity in connection with the Twentieth Century Club. Perhaps the most striking thing included is the text of an address made by her, in French, when a mere girl, before the Paris International Woman's Rights Congress of 1878.

*Reminiscences of a Country Parson.* Those who have read the Rev. Dr. A. K. H. Boyd's "Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews," which contained reminiscences of the author's life at St. Andrews from 1865 to 1890, will be interested in learning that the same author has brought his pleasant recollections down to the close of 1895 in a volume entitled "The Last Years of St. Andrews" (Longmans). The characteristics of the author's previous works, numbering over thirty volumes, are present in his last book. He relates in his usual happy manner a multitude of anecdotes about sermons, churches, and church dignitaries. His style is

notable for its purity and simplicity, although it occasionally becomes a trifle diffuse, and is always lacking in strength. The author has the Boswellian delight for details, and tells all his stories with a *naïve* exactness. Dr. Boyd should console himself with the thought that when Mr. Lowell said his "Recreations of a Country Parson" was "the dullest book he ever read," he was not nearly so careful as to the absolute truth of his statement as is Dr. Boyd himself when he says of a certain sermon: "It would be overbold to say the sermon was the dullest and stupidest I ever heard: because one's experience is large. But I can say truly I never heard a duller or stupider." Perhaps this is what Mr. Lowell really meant, forgetting for the moment that "one's experience is large." In view of this criticism, it was rather injudicious for Dr. Boyd to make the sweeping statement that he has found all of Mr. Lowell's "famous writings, both in prose and verse," "tiresome," and his explanation of this inability to appreciate each other's literary work as "a deficiency in nature" is certainly amusing.

*Mr. Stephen on Social Rights and Duties.*

"The Duties of Authors," one of the chapters of Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Social Rights and Duties" (Macmillan) was commented upon by us at some length in a recent issue of THE DIAL. The two volumes of which this work consists are made up of addresses delivered to the Ethical Societies of London upon various occasions, discussing a variety of subjects of social interest, such as "The Sphere of Political Economy," "The Vanity of Philosophizing," "Forgotten Benefactors," "Heredity," "Punishment," and "Luxury." These addresses are in a more popular vein than most of Mr. Stephen's work, but it is hardly necessary to say that they make no concessions to commonplace minds, or that they reveal one of the deepest and most genial of living thinkers. Contact with such an intellect as Mr. Stephen's is always in the highest degree stimulating, for the author has a happy faculty for clothing abstract truth and close reasoning in the most fascinating garb of expression. The Societies for whom these lectures were prepared are much to be envied, and the larger reading public is to be congratulated upon the access to them now afforded.

*A substantial philosophy of Optimism.*

The very striking paper entitled "Is Life Worth Living?" contributed by Professor William James to a recent number of "The International Journal of Ethics," has been reprinted in a neat booklet by Mr. S. Burns Weston, of Philadelphia. We wish that the essay might find its way to many thousands of readers, for it is both impressive and helpful. The writer holds a brief for optimism, it is true; but he knows how worthless are the stock arguments for the optimistic view, and, instead of sheltering himself behind the shallow platitudes that we hear so often, seeks in the very heart of philosophical thought for his refutation of the pessimist. The essential thesis is that

"our whole physical life may lie soaking in a spiritual atmosphere, a dimension of Being that we at present have no organ for apprehending." "I confess," the author goes on to say, "that I do not see why the very existence of an invisible world may not in part depend on the personal response which any one of us may make to the religious appeal. God himself, in short, *may* draw vital strength and increase of very being from our fidelity. For my own part, I do not know what the sweat and blood and tragedy of this life mean, if they mean anything short of this. If this life be not a real fight in which something is eternally gained for the Universe by success, it is no better than a game of private theatricals from which one may withdraw at will. But it *feels* like a real fight; as if there were something really wild in the Universe which we, with all our idealities and faithfulnesses, are needed to redeem."

*The Kunstgriffe of Schopenhauer.* One of the most amusing papers in Schopenhauer's "Nachlass" is devoted to a series of rules and practical suggestions on "The Art of Controversy." It describes thirty-eight stratagems, or *Kunstgriffe*, that may be employed in argument, and illustrates most of them by example. The discussion is as cynical as Machiavelli's "Prince," and its avowed aim is to enable disputants to hold their own, *per fas et nefas*. We have long wished that someone might translate this essay, and are glad to note that Mr. T. Bailey Saunders has at last added it, together with a few other papers, to the series of volumes in which the body of Schopenhauer's minor writings is presented to English readers (Macmillan). It makes the sixth volume of the series, and is to be followed by one more. We may find space for one of the simpler *Kunstgriffe*: "If you observe that your opponent has taken up a line of argument which will end in your defeat, you must not allow him to carry it to its conclusion, but interrupt the course of the dispute in time, or break it off altogether, or lead him away from the subject, and bring him to others. In short, you must effect the trick which will be noticed later on, the *mutatio controversiae*."

*For architects and others.* It is, we believe, one of the notes of genius that, in speaking of what is here and now, it proves also to be speaking of what is always and everywhere. Whether the author who has taken the evil name of Solomon Gargoyle be a genius or not, is fortunately not to be definitely settled by these lines. But it is worth first mention, that although what is said of "Five Sins of an Architect" (Riverton Press) is said by an architect and of architectural matters, it is also of broader scope, and has therefore the especial charm of all work that is appreciably suggestive. In putting his finger on some of the weak places of architecture, the author indicates also some of the weaknesses of the larger structure of society; his conception of a good architect, also, is not without its bearing on our conception of a good man. One

reads with a wider interest than would be excited in the general mind by a discussion of the faults and follies of any especial profession or art. But in dealing with a particular way of life, it has the advantage attaching to concrete cases. It is, then, a book which one will read with pleasure and possibly to further advantage. We regret that we cannot say that "there is not a dull page in it": in truth, the author is not always at his best—as must of course be true of every honest man. Nor is he uniformly impeccable (giving evidence of some pet sins of his own), but it will be more amusing to the reader to detect the said sins himself, and thereby taste the joy of commenting on the critic.

*The railway age in Mexico.* Professor Bernard Moses, in "The Railway Revolution in Mexico" (The Berkeley Press, San Francisco),

deals with the changed industrial and material conditions of our southwestern neighbor, which have succeeded the recent and extensive building of railroads in that country. He shows that by the influx and use of foreign capital in the building of railroads within the past two decades, Mexico, hitherto an isolated country, "has suddenly been brought under the influences that make for social changes, and we discover here an excellent example of the transition from a stagnant to a progressive society." There is no attempt at exhaustive treatment,—the book contains but ninety pages,—but the author discusses, successively, the order which has followed out of this new means of transportation, the material and moral improvement of the population, the opening of new and unworked fields for agricultural enterprise, and, especially, the wholesome economic effect which this new influence has had upon the cities of the interior. The story is pleasingly told and will repay a careful perusal. A map of Mexico would have added not a little to the interest of the book.

*An up-to-date political handbook.* "Governments of the World To-day," by Mr. Hamblen Sears, is well calculated to interest the busy individual who wishes to keep in touch with current events in all parts of the globe. Indeed, it may be truly said, as appears on the title-page, that the book is "an outline for newspaper readers." It aims to give satisfactory answers to "references to contemporary events, domestic and foreign, to men and things, which no paper can pretend to explain, which, in fact, the editors must take for granted as familiar to their readers." Useful statistical and historical information is given of forty-eight different governments, alphabetically, beginning with the Argentine Republic and ending with Venezuela. These are followed with an appendix discussing briefly some features of a dozen other independent sovereign states. Maps are given of most of the countries treated, but they are so very small as to be of little value to the reader. An interesting table, showing the areas, populations, and other data of the British colonies, is found at the end of the book.

#### BRIEFER MENTION.

The bound volume of "The Century" magazine which includes the numbers from November, 1895, to April, 1896, is at hand, and is as full of interesting matter as any of its predecessors. Among the more noticeable features are Mr. H. M. Stanley's account of "The Development of Africa," Mr. C. E. Borchgrevink's story of "The First Landing on the Antarctic Continent," Mr. Bryce's discussion of "The Armenian Question," and Mr. Marion Crawford's two papers on Rome. The serials include Professor Sloane's "Life of Napoleon," Mrs. Ward's "Sir George Treasyd," and Mr. Hopkinson Smith's "Tom Grogan." The illustrations are, of course, as distinctive and valuable a feature as ever.

The *cante-fable* of "Aucassin et Niclète" has hitherto been known to English readers only in Mr. Lang's exquisite version. A new translation, the work of Mr. M. S. Henry and Mr. E. W. Thomson, now appears in one of the prettiest booklets imaginable from the press of Messrs. Copeland & Day. While we cannot say that the present translators have caught the flavor of the original quite as successfully as did Mr. Lang, they have nevertheless produced a very charming version of one of the loveliest strays of mediæval literature.

Madame Darmesteter's charming monograph on "Froissart" (imported by Scribner) has been translated into English by Miss E. Frances Poynter, and published in a volume that is made almost sumptuous by handsome print, heavy paper, and illustrative plates. It is a beautiful book in spirit no less than in form, full of poetic feeling and sympathetic appreciation. It must surely help to make Froissart better known than he now is to English readers, and that is no unworthy task. The freshness and purity of the old Chronicler at his best are things "that will never lose their value," but are likely rather to become more and more prized as the world grows older.

Mr. S. Baring-Gould describes his "Curiosities of Olden Times" (Whittaker), as "a small museum" wherein he has preserved some of the quaintest relics which have attracted his notice during his antiquarian labors. The book certainly points to a vast overhauling of dusty tomes; and the author presents his sufficiently curious odds-and-ends of forgotten lore and tradition in a sprightly and agreeable way. There are seventeen papers in all, under such titles as: "The Meaning of Mourning;" "Curiosities of Cypher;" "Strange Pains and Penalties;" "Some Crazy Saints;" "Sortes Sacré;" "Queen Culprits;" "The Philosopher's Stone;" etc. The book is full of curious and suggestive reading.

"A Dictionary of Chemical Solubilities" (Macmillan), by Dr. Arthur Messinger Correy, has just been published. It is a work of enormous industry, and, although it deals only with inorganic substances, and is printed in the most compact form possible, fills over five hundred double-columned octavo pages. Storer's "Dictionary," published in 1864, is the only previous attempt to deal with this subject, and, of course, the accumulated determinations of the past thirty years have added greatly to the material to be embodied in such a work. The authorities are given for the determinations, but no attempt has been made to verify them experimentally, and they often contradict one another. Recent work is likely to be more accurate than earlier, and that is the nearest approach that may be made toward any general rule. Every chemist will find this work indispensable.

## LITERARY NOTES.

"Julius Caesar" and "Timon of Athens" are added by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. to the "Temple" Shakespeare.

Dr. Paul Carus publishes, through the Open Court Publishing Co., a revised edition of his "Primer of Philosophy," which was copyrighted in 1893.

Lover's ever-popular "Handy Andy," with an Introduction by Mr. Charles Whibley, is the latest addition to the Macmillan library of standard fiction reprints.

"London" and "France" are the respective subjects of two new volumes in the series of "Stories by English Authors" now being published by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Thomas Paine's "The Age of Reason" has been reprinted from Mr. Moncure D. Conway's edition of Paine's works, and issued in a volume by itself. The publishers are Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The "Graduate Courses" for 1896-97, giving the courses offered by twenty-three of the leading colleges and universities in this country, has just been issued from the press of Messrs. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. will shortly issue two works of fiction by new American writers — a story of the New York Ghetto, by Mr. A. Cahan, and "Sir Mark," an historical romance from American material, by Miss Anna Robeson Brown.

Volume IV. of "The Chap-Book," neatly bound in buckram, makes a handsome volume of over six hundred pages, and includes the numbers from November 15, 1895, to May 1, 1896, inclusive. The title-page bears the new imprint of Messrs. H. S. Stone & Co.

Mr. George Haven Putnam's valuable work on "The Question of Copyright" (Putnam), first published in 1891, has been reissued in a revised and considerably enlarged edition. It is a work of great usefulness for reference, being a compendium of the most recent legislation upon the subject.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons are engaged in a reissue, edited by Professor J. A. Woodburn, of the late Alexander Johnston's "American Orations." Some additions and other changes are to be made, but the work will be substantially what Johnston made it. Four volumes are projected, one of which has just appeared.

Captain John G. Bourke, of the Third Cavalry, U.S.A., died in Philadelphia on the eighth of June. He was known to literature as the author of "On the Border with Crook," "The Snake Dance of the Moquis," "An Apache Campaign," and a number of monographs of less popular interest. He was fifty-three years of age.

Balzac's "Un Ménage de Gargon," translated into English as "A Bachelor's Establishment" by Mrs. Hamilton Bell, has just been published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. These publishers also send us "Kings in Exile," in their new edition of Daudet, and the fourth volume of Carleton's "Tales and Stories of the Irish Peasantry," completing the work.

The "Mathematical Papers" read at the International Mathematical Congress held in Chicago in the summer of 1893 have just been published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., acting on behalf of the American Mathematical Society, and form a handsome volume of over four hundred pages. They have been edited by a committee consisting of Professors E. H. Moore, Oskar Bolza, Heinrich Maschke, and Henry S. White.

The Western Association of Writers will hold its eleventh annual meeting at Warsaw, Indiana, during the five days beginning June 29. An extensive programme has been arranged, upon which the following writers figure, among many others: Mr. and Mrs. Platt, Mrs. Catherwood, Mr. W. H. Venable, President D. S. Jordan, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, and Mr. J. C. Ridpath. Miss Birdie Blye will enliven the occasion with music.

The New York publishing business of Messrs. Macmillan & Co. has been incorporated as The Macmillan Co., with Mr. George Platt Brett for President. No changes in policy and administration are contemplated beyond those naturally resulting from the gradual increase of the business of the firm, which has been giving special attention of late to its American publications. The directors of the Macmillan Company for the first year are the former members of the firm, Messrs. Frederic Macmillan, George A. Macmillan, George L. Craik, Maurice Macmillan, George P. Brett, with Alex. B. Balfour, Lawrence Godkin, Edward J. Kennet, and Lawton L. Walton.

The Public Opinion Co. has issued Part I. of a series entitled "The Hamilton Facsimiles of Manuscripts in the National Archives Relating to American History." Mr. S. M. Hamilton, the editor, justly says: "It will readily be seen that these faithful reproductions, in the exact handwriting, with all erasures, interlineations, and signatures as originally written, are of great value to all careful students of American history, to conscientious teachers, and to every patriotic American." The Monroe Doctrine is the subject of the manuscripts chosen for publication in this first volume of the series, and the documents comprise letters from Monroe, Jefferson, Madison, and Rush, besides extracts from the famous Message of 1823.

Full of years and honors, Jules Simon has gone to his rest, and France is plunged into mourning for one of the greatest and purest of her statesmen and scholars. He was born December 31, 1814, and died on the eighth of this month. His early life was that of a scholar and teacher, and we think of him chiefly during this period as the pupil of Cousin, and afterwards as his successor at the Sorbonne. He lectured there for twelve years, beginning in 1839. He entered politics in 1848 as a member of the Constituent Assembly, and took his seat with the Left. The loss of his professorship, in 1851, was the consequence of his refusal to accept the Empire of the usurper. In this connection, he published "Le Devoir," "La Liberté Commune," and "La Liberté de Conscience." During the sixties, he published numerous books, among them "L'Ouvrière," "L'Ouvrier de Huit Ans," "La Politique Radicale," and "La Peine de Mort." He also entered the Corps Législatif, and soon became the leader of the Republican party. His first appointment as Minister was under the temporary government of National Defence during the war of 1870. In 1871, Thiers gave him the portfolio of Education, which he held for two years. Later, he published an eloquent defence of "Le Gouvernement de Monsieur Thiers." In 1875 he was elected a life senator and also to the Academy, while in 1876 he became Premier. In 1890, he was a delegate to the Labor Conference called at Berlin by the German Emperor. He was throughout his career the earnest supporter of free trade, of the republican principle, of arbitration for international difficulties, and of the whole set of ideas commonly, if somewhat vaguely, designated as liberal.

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